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No. I.

UNION SOCIETY

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
County of Surrey.*

MARSHALL, Dublin, 22. Sept., 1834.

I HAVE this morning seen more than one thousand of working persons, men and women, boys and girls, all the clothes upon the bodies of all of whom were not worth so much as the smock-frock that you go to work in; and you have a wife and eight children, seven of whom are too young to go to work. I have seen the food and the cooking of the food, in a LARGE HOUSE, where food is prepared for a part of these wretched people. Cast-iron coppers, three or four times as big as our largest brewing copper, are employed to boil oatmeal (that is, ground oats in water, or butter-milk, or skim-milk; and this is the food given to these poor creatures. The white cabbages, the barley-meal, the pot-fat, the whey, and the butter-milk, which George boils daily for our little pigs and their mothers, is a dish, to obtain a mouthful of which, thousands of these people would go on their knees. MARSHALL, you know how I scolded Tom Denman and little Barratt and your own son Dick, on the Saturday before I came away, for not sweeping the sleeping-place of the yard-hogs out clean, and what a strict charge I gave George to fling out the old bed, and to give them a bed of fresh straw every Saturday. Oh, how happy would thousands upon thousands in this city be, if they could be lodged

in a place like that roughest hog bed! I this morning saw a widow woman and her four children, in the spot where they had slept; on *their bed*, in short. George remembers my looking over at the sows and their sucking pigs, and at the two youngest calves, just before I came away; and that I told him to keep them in that nice condition all the time that I should be away. Now MARSHALL, you see upon what a quantity of straw not to one of the sows and her pigs; and if I, on my return, were to see, as I am sure I shall not, the straw of the calves as dirty, and so broken, as that upon which this widow and her children were lying, I should drive George out of the house, as a slovenly and cruel fellow. And this, you will observe, is the case of thousands upon thousands of persons; it is the case of whole streets as long as the main streets of Guildford and Farnham. Your pig-sty and TURVILL'S pig-sty, and the sties of other labouring men, are made by yourselves, with posts and poles and rods and heath, and your supply of straw is very scanty, and compels you to resort to fern and dead grass from the common: but, and now mind what I say, I saw TURVILL'S pig-sty the day before I came off, and I solemnly declare, in the face of England and of Ireland, that TURVILL'S two hogs were better lodged, and far better fed, and far more clean in their skins, than are thousands upon thousands of the human beings in this city; which, as to streets, squares, and buildings, is as fine a city as almost any in the world! The LARGE HOUSE, of which I have spoken to you above, is called the MENDICITY. The word *mendicant* means *beggar*, and the word MENDICITY means *beggary*. So that this, which was formerly a nobleman's mansion, is now the house of beggars. From this house there are sent forth, every day, *begging carts*, drawn by women, who go from house to house to collect

what is called "*broken victuals*." These carts are precisely, in shape and in size, like my *dog-hutches*, except that the begging carts have a sort of *hopper* at top to put the victuals in at, and a locked-up door at one end, to take the victuals out of. Now mind what I am going to say: the bones, bits of rusty bacon, rind of bacon, scrapings of dishes and plates, left cabbage, left turnips, peas, beans, beets, and the like odds and ends, that Mrs. KENNING throws into our *hog-tub*, form a mass of victuals *superior in quality* to these *mendicity-collections*; and in proof of which I state the following facts: that the carts, when they come in, have their contents taken out and examined by persons appointed for the purpose, who separate all that can become food from the mere rubbish and filth, that is, by servants at the houses, tossed into the carts amongst it; and a gentleman has, in evidence given by him before commissioners here, stated, that out of *seventy odd hundred weight* taken out of the carts the examiners found *only nine hundred weight* that could by *possibility* become human food, the *bones* in these nine hundred weight not being included!

The real statement is this:
In twenty-two weeks the begging carts collected 273 cwt.
Of this, unfit for any use.... 175

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When the bones and other uneatable things were separated from this there remained, applicable as human food 9 cwt.

So that these poor women, in these twenty-two weeks, actually dragged to this place 273 hundred weight of stuff very little better than that which forms an ordinary town dunghill!

Now, MARSHALL, I address this letter to you, because you are the most able and most skilful of my labourers, though all of you are able and good. You cannot read it, I know; but, Mr. DEAN will read it to you; and he will, some evening, get you all together, and read it, twice over, to you all. I will cause

it to be printed upon a slip of paper, and cause copies of it to be sent into all the parishes round about our own.

You will, perhaps, think, that the *land* here is not like that at Normandy. Indeed it is not; for one acre here is worth four of that; the grass here is the finest that I ever saw in my life; six acres of it worth more than my twenty acres; and, when I go home, I shall be happy indeed to find my MANGEL WURZEL and SWEDISH TURNIPS (about which we have taken so much pains) any thing like so good as those which I saw growing here, raised, too, from seed bought of me. Here are as fine beef and mutton as any in the world, and wheat and barley and oats in abundance. The causes of this strange state of things, I have come hither to endeavour to ascertain, and to offer to this suffering people my opinions as to the remedies that ought to be applied.

But, MARSHALL, I hope that none of you will believe, that I lay the state of the Irish working people before you, with a view of making the unfortunate amongst you *patient* under a refusal to give you relief according to the *ancient law*, which our fathers left us as our best inheritance. Just the contrary is the view, with which I have written this letter. There are certain savage villains, who are urging the Government and the Parliament to adopt measures to compel you to live on "*COARSER FOOD*" than that which you now live on; and, in short, to reduce you to the state that I have above described the Irish working people to be in; and I write this, that you may all see what that state is, and that you may be on the watch for any thing that these villains may recommend to be done against you, and that you may be ready to plead and to stand by *the law* against the recommendations of those barbarous monsters, who are seeking to live in idleness and to fatten on your toil.

Besides, it is the duty of you all to wish and to endeavour to better the lot of those Irish sufferers; and, as I shall hereafter show you, you can do much, if you will. People of property are just

as kind and charitable here as they are in England: they subscribe large sums of money to prevent this misery: but there wants **THE LAW**, the *Christian* law, the *holy* law of England, which says that no human being shall, on English ground, *perish from want*. How there came not to be **POOR-LAWS** here, as well as in England, I have not now time to explain to you. But here there are none; and you see the consequences. **MANCHESTER** has about the same number of people as Dublin: in the former the *poor-rates*, it is calculated, hardly surpass the *subscriptions* in Dublin: yet, misery, such as is here, is wholly unknown in Manchester. It is *the law* that does all; that law, which has so long been the greatest glory of England; that law which the base Scotch negro-drivers (not the *Scotch people*, who hate them as cordially as I do) are now recommending to be destroyed; but which law, it is our duty to maintain, and, not only to maintain for ourselves, but to cause to be extended to these our fellow-subjects of Ireland.

I hope that you and your family are quite well, and that the Scotch villains will never be able to take from you the bacon and bread that you bring for your breakfast, and to put cold potatoes in your satchel in their stead.

I remain,
Your master and friend,
WM. COBBETT.

If I had time to write, I would write in this *Register*, about nothing but the country in which I am; and what I shall do is, to insert things which have already been printed relating to my arrival and reception here. I shall first insert Mr. O'Connell's letter to Mr. Edward Dwyer, welcoming me to Ireland; then from the *Tribune* and the *Morning Register* an account of my entrance into this city, of the address presented to me, and of my answer to that address. After this will follow an article or two, written and published by Mr. Samuel Robinson, of King's County, Ireland, in the year 1828 and in the year

1823, which the English reader will find very interesting, and which, though I may not agree in all the arguments and conclusions of the writer, do great honour to him, to his zeal and to his talents, and have my most cordial thanks.

O'CONNELL'S WELCOME TO MR. COBBETT.

Derrinane Abbey, 11. Sept., 1834.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I perceive by the papers that the far-famed Cobbett is on his way to visit Ireland. I wish we were able to give him a reception worthy of his talents and public services. He is really one of the most extraordinary men that the world ever saw. When one contemplates the station in society to which he has raised himself, and then looks back to his commencement in life as a labouring boy, enlisting as a private soldier, one knows not which most to admire, the value of that strong mixture of the democratic principle in British institutions which has allowed him to make such an advance, or the extraordinary and vigorous intellect which enabled him to overcome the many and numerous difficulties which counteracting aristocracy threw in his way, and to become one of the most prominent and useful men now living.

I really think him, after all, one of the most useful men living. He has, it is true, changed his opinion of men and things with unaccountable rapidity and violence; yet when we look at his astonishing literary labours—when we see that he has published the very best and most practically useful books of instruction—that he has written the most pure English of any writer of the present day, and embraced and illustrated more topics of popular and sound politics than any other living, or perhaps dead author—that even his errors and mistakes are brought forward with so much distinctness and fairness, that they also advance the cause of truth and justice, by stimulating to and requiring most attentive and considerate discussion. In

short, take him for all in all, I am convinced that he is of living men one of the greatest benefactors of literature, liberty, and religion.

Aye, of religion—for his History of the Protestant Reformation in England has all the interest of a tale of mere invention, whilst there is not one allegation in it but what can be sustained by the most accurate and even adverse writers. With what admirable simplicity of style and felicity of effect does he describe the pious firmness and unaffected Christian boldness of the two poor friars of Greenwich—the Rev. Mr. Peto and the Rev. Mr. Elstow! What a specimen of truly English fortitude and frankness did not these two friars exhibit, especially when contrasted with the baseness, the servility, and the horrible profligacy of the court of that monster of rapacity, lust, and blood, Henry VIII.; the first great author of that change of religion in England called the Reformation! and, then, his account of the tragic death of the Duchess of Suffolk! But in a book full of beauties one knows not what injustice he may commit by selecting in preference particular passages, because he who has not read the work through has not read the most interesting, affecting, and just book in the English language. In fact, it now can be read in almost every cultivated language on the face of the globe.

I extremely regret that I cannot be in Dublin to meet him. You, my excellent friend, as secretary to the late Catholic Association, must supply my place. You must get up a public dinner to entertain him, at which he may receive the respectful attentions of the sincere friends of civil and religious liberty in Dublin. As he goes through the country he will, I doubt not, receive public testimonials of regard; and I hope he will go back convinced in his opinions that the people of Ireland do not deserve the cruel treatment they have received, and still continue to receive, from the British Government.

Do me the kindness to wait on him the moment of his arrival in Dublin, and hand him the letter I enclose, marked

“private.” I beg of you to enforce for me the request it contains, that he will come to visit this mountainous district. Believe me to be, my dear friend, yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Edward Dwyer, Esq.

ANSWER.

SOCIETY

I HAVE received your letter of WELCOME by the hands of Mr. EDWARD DWYER; and also your kind letter of invitation to your house at DERRINANE.

With regard to the first, I will not pretend to believe that I am altogether unworthy of the character you have given me, while as far as good intentions and zealous endeavours go, no one can over-rate me there. If I do not (as I certainly do not) deserve *all* the praise that you bestow on me, I have, in the commendations thus bestowed on me by you, and in the honourable reception that I have found in Ireland, a powerful motive, in addition to all those which before urged me on to action, to endeavour to deserve *all* your praise, great as it is.

I did not set my foot on Irish ground without bearing in mind the fact, that I had resolved never to come hither, while the unmitigated “COERCION BILL” should remain in force; and, without bearing in mind this other fact, namely, that it was YOU, and you ALONE, who had prevented it so remaining. Never shall I, as long as I live, forget your attitude, your manner, your agitation, your anxious and impassioned tone, when you asked, *whether it was intended to renew the Coercion Bill*; nor shall I ever forget the indignant decla-

ration of your resolution to oppose it. It was your conduct, in that five minutes, which produced all that followed; it was your conduct in that five minutes that brought me here; your country's gratitude you know you have; and I here, with the greatest respect, beg you to accept of mine.

With regard to the second matter, your intention to ~~DEPART~~ DUBLIN, I could, by going thither, not possibly add, in the view of either your countrymen, or mine, one particle to the proof of that respect and admiration which I bear towards you: if the visit could do this, nothing should prevent me from making it. But, while it could be of no use in this respect, I find, upon full and minute inquiry and calculation, that it would retard me ten or twelve days in that progress which I am performing, not for pleasure, not to gratify curiosity, but from a sense of duty; from a desire to acquire that knowledge which I did not before possess, and the possession of which is necessary to enable me duly to discharge that duty which my excellent constituents have a right to expect at my hands. For these reasons, and because the loss of ten days would be injurious to my object, I beg you to excuse (as I know you will) my not visiting you now, receiving my assurance, that, if alive and well next year, I will go from my home to your house for the express and sole purpose of showing my respect towards you and your family. And, with this assurance I remain,

Your faithful,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

ARRIVAL OF MR. COBBETT.

The hon. member for Oldham arrived on Monday at Kingstown, by the Holyhead packet. He was received on his landing by General Sir George Cockburn, Mr. Finn, M.P., and several other personal friends. After stopping for a short time at the residence of Mr. Finn, Mr. Cobbett set out for Shanganach, the magnificent seat of General Cockburn, near Bray, where he remained till Thursday.

MR. COBBETT'S PUBLIC ENTRY INTO DUBLIN.

The letter, in which Mr. Cobbett fixed on Sunday last as the day of his intended arrival in Dublin, was a letter to a personal friend, and was not written by him with the remotest expectation that it would elicit any public demonstration. No sooner, however, had that letter appeared, than many of the citizens of Dublin were in motion, and it was very promptly determined on to give him a public reception. The general intention was communicated to him, while yet at Birmingham; and after the meeting at the Royal Exchange, and the unequivocal demonstration of public feeling at that meeting—the determination then adopted to conduct him into town, was communicated to him, but unfortunately, not in terms so precise and definite, as to make him understand that the citizens would be awaiting his arrival, and that there must be great disappointment in not meeting him at the very time at which he had mentioned his intention of arrival. There was no time for an answer from him to this communication; and the consequence was, that on Sunday the committee went out in some degree of uncertainty which was increased on the receipt of a letter which still left the question of his arrival on Sunday very equivocal, and which induced them to station on the road, parties well known to the people to represent to them that the committee were disappointed. The day, however, was beautifully fine, and appeared the more so, from the con-

trast with the recent broken weather. Immense crowds poured out upon the Kingstown road, which was covered with a perpetual train of horsemen and vehicles of different descriptions; and at the arrival of the afternoon packet, not only was the pier crowded by a vast assemblage, but the rising ground commanding a view of the road to the town, was occupied by many different groups; and it seemed to be the general opinion, that if O'Connell himself had been expected, he could hardly have anticipated a more gratifying reception. The packet, however, arrived without Mr. Cobbett; and of course considerable chagrin, as well as disappointment, was experienced. The first disappointment was sure to excite distrust. Thursday, the day at last fixed for Mr. Cobbett's entry into Dublin, was a wet day; and yet, with all these drawbacks, the following is the account which the *Morning Register* has given of Mr. Cobbett's reception. We commend it to the attention of the English Whigs. We recommend them to consider whether there were ever a more unequivocal demonstration of popular sentiment; and to judge from this, first, whether the Irish know their friends; and secondly, whether they are to be cheated out of substantial justice.

(From the *Morning Register*.)

Mr. Cobbett made his public entry into this city on Thursday, and, notwithstanding several unfavourable circumstances, his reception was as gratifying and warm as the honourable member could have wished. The hour arranged by the committee for the procession was two o'clock, when the hon. member was to have been received at Merrion. Owing to this announcement, although the people were assembling in considerable numbers along the Rock-road, the arrangements had not been completed, or the procession formed, when Mr. Cobbett unexpectedly arrived at the place of rendezvous, at one o'clock. He came in an open carriage accompanied by General Sir George Cockburn, and Mr. Finn, the member

for Kilkenny. The committee fortunately met General Cockburn's carriage at Ball's-bridge, as they were on their way out to Merrion. The scene bore now a more animated appearance; the crowds that were hastening from town joined the procession, and added so considerably to its numbers, that on reaching Baggot-street it presented a very formidable array. The cheering along the line became universal, and numbers of elegantly-dressed females filled the balconies of the windows of the different streets through which the procession passed, and waved their handkerchiefs as tokens of their approbation. A number of carriages fell into the procession as it passed on its appointed route. On reaching Mr. Dodd's auction-mart, where the carriages stopped, the rush became tremendous, and it was with difficulty that Mr. Cobbett could make his way from the vehicle into Mr. Dodd's drawing-room. More than one honest fellow was observed to grasp with eagerness the hand of the hon. member, as he alighted from the carriage, in order to have it to say that he had shaken hands with William Cobbett. The doors of the mart were now closed, in order to keep out the crowd, and shortly after Mr. Cobbett made his appearance on the balcony, amid tremendous cheers from the assembled multitude. He has yet much of the hale and stout appearance for which he has been so remarkable through life. His step is wonderfully firm, and his voice is clear, loud, and articulate to an extraordinary degree. As he stood upon the balcony, with his white and silvery hairs uncovered, and read his answer to the address which was presented to him, marking each sentence with corresponding gesture and emphasis, his appearance was particularly striking, and produced a marked effect upon his auditors. He wore a light gray coat which fitted loosely to his person, and duck trowsers. He addressed a few additional observations to the crowd, after reading his answer to the address, which were loudly cheered. On the balcony we observed also General Cockburn, Mr. Finn, several members of the commit-

tee, and a great number of fashionably-attired females.

Mr. FINN came forward and said: Fellow-countrymen, let me introduce to you William Cobbett (long-continued cheers); a man who rose from the ranks by his own merits, and has always adhered to the interests of his "order." (Cheers). At Edinburgh they have been celebrating the arrival of Earl Grey. (Loud groans and hisses). They have been entertaining Earl Grey and the Ministers, and those who have any thing to give. Here we have assembled to congratulate upon his arrival amongst us the able statesman, the man of powerful mind and of great honesty. (Cheers). I feel myself honoured in doing honour to him. (Cheers). I feel myself honoured in joining with my fellow-countrymen to pay my respects to a man who has done so much for the poor of his own and the poor of this country. (Cheers). I say this, and I would feel for ever degraded if I adopted the sycophantic course of going out of my way to pay respects to the mere Minister of the hour. (Hear, hear, and cheers). I shall now merely say this: When Cromwell, from the top of Slievenamann, viewed the rich valleys that surrounded him, and looked upon ten or fifteen Irish counties, he turned to his soldiers and said, "Is not this a country worth fighting for?" I say to you, and say to Mr. Cobbett, "Is not this a country that we are ready to fight for if requisite?" (Hear, hear, and continued cheering). Half of the men who fought at Waterloo under Wellington were Irish soldiers. We fear neither death nor danger, and they must learn to govern us for our own interests, and not for a corrupt oligarchy. (Cheers). They must do us justice or they shall do it. (Hear, hear, and continued cheering). Conscious of our strength we do not forget the might that slumbers in the peasant's arm. We are told that they will save us all trouble upon this point, and will govern us well: I say, "God send us a safe deliverance." I entertain but slight hopes from them. If they are not true to the people they must be false to themselves; and no Tory Government was ever yet hurled from

power with more contempt and execration than the Whigs shortly will be, unless they are determined to do justice to the people of this country. (Hear, and long-continued cheers).

Mr. M'NEVIN then came forward, as chairman of the meeting at the Exchange, and read the following Address:

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M. P.

Sir,—It has frequently been the lot of Irishmen to go forth to welcome to their shores strangers of rank and station who visited them clothed with power and authority. The iron rule to which we have been submitted, and the extreme and uniform misery of our condition, have made us always too prone to hope for good in any change, and to recognise in every new face the lineaments of a benefactor. And hence, as the feelings of expectation have poured themselves out in the language of anticipated acknowledgment, and premature thanks for benefits always hoped, but never conferred, the expressions of a too credulous confidence have given to simple sincerity and good feeling the semblance of self-abasing adulation.

But in expressing to you, sir, on your safe arrival in Ireland, congratulations springing from the bottom of our hearts, we address a man who has no rank but that which public fame gives to exalted public virtue, and no power save that which has been acquired by a lifelong devotion of those rich gifts with which it has pleased God to endow you, to the cause of truth and justice. Even then, if it were possible to express in terms beyond your deserts, the thanks which we owe to you, and to you alone of the public men of England, for the benevolent sympathy which you have uniformly manifested for our wrongs, for the unstinted justice with which you have demanded on our behalf the whole of our rights; for the generous magnanimity with which you, a Protestant, put to hazard your popularity with the Protestants of England, by your liberal, enlightened, and manly vindication of that religion, the cherished hate of which was the ground of the misgovernment

of Ireland; it is impossible for envy itself to taint with suspicion the motives with which we offer you the tribute of our deep and lasting gratitude.

We know, sir, that you are not one of those who profess to have been born endowed with all knowledge, and never in any instance to have been capable of falling into error—we know that you have exposed yourself to the charge of inconsistency from the wise in their own conceit, because you did not refuse to gather wisdom from experience, and had the candour to confess, and the justice to atone for, an error, when you found that you had in any case committed one. We know that you have sometimes been mistaken in your estimate of Irishmen, whom we justly hold in honour; but we also know that your constant motive has been that love of justice, and that hatred of oppression, by which you are eminently distinguished; and that, from the first hour in which the condition of Ireland attracted your observation, your language has been the language of attention to our complaints, of compassion for our sufferings, of indignant reprobation of our wrongs—in a word, the language of a man who, founding his love of freedom on principle, was willing to extend to all the full measure of justice which he demanded on his own behalf.

But, sir, if you had no claims to the peculiar acknowledgments of Ireland for peculiar services already rendered to us—if you were not now induced to visit our shores by the desire of becoming better acquainted with our grievances, in order to qualify yourself the more effectually to urge the redress of them—if you visited us only as the vindicator of English freedom, as the inveterate enemy and powerful assailant of the corrupt, squandering, and sanguinary system of misrule which long overbore the rights of your country as well as ours, and with no other claim to our respect than the title which the suffrages of your countrymen have conferred on you, of the poor man's friend, it would be due to our own character, as men worthy of freedom, and sincerely determined to attain it, to show that we

have a sympathy for the champions of freedom wherever they are to be found, and that where tyranny acknowledges a foe, there we are proud to recognise a brother and a friend.

It would become us to recollect the glorious example you have set of an unbending integrity, of an uncompromising assertion of public right, of an untiring war against public corruption. It would become us to recollect the sound political information which you have diffused, the public pure morality which you have inculcated, the spirit of independence which you have kept alive among your countrymen. It would become us to recollect your sufferings, as well as your exertions; the fine and imprisonment which you suffered in 1810, for maintaining that English soldiers ought not to be lashed in England by German mercenaries; the exile in which you were obliged to seek safety, in 1817, for the crime of having maintained that the people of England and Ireland were entitled to that reform which is yet but half accomplished, and which perfidy would make a merit of conceding, when it could no longer be possibly withheld. It would become us to recollect that persecution and oppression only added new force to your patriotism, new fire to your zeal, new vigour to your exertions; that in prison, in banishment with a patience never to be irritated, with a perseverance never to be subdued, you pursued that reform, the partial accomplishment of which now presents you to us in the honourable position of the representative of a constituency instructed by your lessons, animated by your example, and indebted in a great measure to your exertions for the freedom of which they, at least, among Englishmen, have made a wise and honourable use.

That it may please God to give you health and strength to attain the goal to which your honourable life has tended, and to receive the reward of your exertions and your sacrifices, in witnessing the full and peaceful restoration of freedom, independence, and happiness, to both countries, is the earnest desire and fervent prayer of those who,

in the ardent language of their country, but in language not more ardent than their feelings, bid you a hundred thousand welcomes to the shores of Ireland.

The address was received with loud cheers, which continued for several minutes.

Mr. Cobbett then came to the front of the balcony, and the cheers with which he was at first received were again renewed. As soon as the applause had subsided, he said—Gentlemen, looking upon this address as coming from you all, the answer I shall read to you shall be the answer to you all. (Hear and cheers). Gentlemen, you are all, of course, aware that I must have seen this address; it would be affectation to say that I had not seen it before. It is not becoming to play the hypocrite, nor to pretend to be all-seeing persons, and it would be particularly unbecoming to pretend that one had not seen an address, an address to which he came prepared with an answer, which I shall now read to you. Let me now say that I witness in you no rare instance of that fault which I have always seen in Irishmen,—whatever service might be done for you, whether great or small, your gratitude was always tenfold too much for the service rendered. (Cheers). Gentlemen, the reception you have given me is far beyond any merits of mine. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no"). Now, gentlemen, I shall read to you the answer to that very elegant address, which, though it certainly exaggerates my merit, still I will not say that it is altogether unjust. (Loud cheers). Mr. Cobbett then proceeded to read the answer, several passages in which were responded to by enthusiastic plaudits:

GENTLEMEN,—A great many years have rolled over my head; but if age had so benumbed my feelings as to make me insensible to this address from you, I should, I hope, have fortitude enough left to cease to wish to live.

I will not affect to believe that I am wholly unworthy of the commendation which you so generously bestow upon

me; but, that love of justice which you ascribe to me, and which, I trust, has always marked my conduct in all the relationships of life, bid me avail myself of this occasion of assuring you that, though I have been, perhaps, more conspicuous than most other English and Scotch members of Parliament in expressing my sentiments relative to the treatment of Ireland, I am, in entertaining sympathy for her sufferings, very far, even amongst them, from standing *alone*; while, with regard to *the people* of England and Scotland, be assured, that, with very rare exceptions, they feel every wrong done to Ireland a wrong done to themselves. Truth, and sincerity, and duty also bid me declare to you, further, that I believe that the present Ministers are sincerely disposed to better the lot of Ireland. Nature, reason, their own fame, their own interest, now, at last, dictate this to them in a tone so commanding that it is impossible that these should not prevail over the prejudices and passions which, for so many dismal ages, have been tearing this fine country to pieces, and making strife, beggary, and misery to reign, where all ought to have been peace, plenty, and happiness.

It is not, be you assured, gentlemen, *want of feeling* for Ireland, but *want of knowledge* of the nature, the extent, and the real causes of her sufferings, which has hitherto prevented the application of remedies to an evil so great, so notorious throughout the world, and so dishonourable to the very name of England. It is more especially the want of this very knowledge in the *people* of England, who, in the end, always have decided, and always will decide, every great public question. Boundless is the gratitude which Ireland owes to her mighty and devoted advocate for her emancipation from a slavery of three centuries' duration; but even all the terrors with which his matchless talents and zeal unparalleled were able to fill the breast of obdurate and insolent oppression, would not have prevailed, had not the deep-seated prejudices been first rooted out of the minds of the people of England; had they still been under the

sway of that unnatural antipathy to the religion of their fathers, which for so many ages had been sedulously and systematically implanted in those minds.

Believing that I have some influence with a large part of this people; knowing that for them to pursue the path of justice, it is only necessary that they clearly see that path, I have deemed it my duty to come and to see with my own eyes the real state of their and my fellow-subjects, the suffering people of Ireland; to make known to them the result of my observations, and at the same time to communicate to the people of Ireland themselves my opinions with regard to remedies called for by evils, the existence of which no man living has the hardihood to deny, and no man fit to live the callousness not to deplore. From a very early age I entertained the desire that my country might always be renowned as the greatest, the freest, and most happy in the world. This desire clings to my heart more closely as the years advance upon me; and it is my perfect conviction that she must cease to be that great, free, and happy country, unless full and complete justice be speedily done to the people of Ireland.

Gentlemen, you have enumerated some of the wrongs which I, during my public life, have had to endure; they have indeed been many; they have been cruel; they have been injurious; but had they been still more numerous, more cruel, more injurious, this address from you, this kind and cordial welcome to the shores of Ireland, would have been more than a tenfold compensation for them all.

Mr. Cobbett continued by saying—The reading of this address has pretty nearly tired me; and you are all, I suppose, pretty tired by this. (Hear and cheers). I shall not detain you longer. I shall only observe that I have struggled for the liberties of Ireland with peculiar pleasure. (Cheers). Being sent to Parliament by the good people of Oldham, I must say that I would have been of no use if I were not supported by the Irish members of Parliament. But for them I should have been all alone; and though it would be some-

what difficult to do it, I should, I suppose, have been hooted out of the place, if it were not for the honest support of the Irish members, amongst whom I may mention the honourable gentleman who stands on my left. (Hear, hear, and cheers). You have nothing to do but go on perseveringly and sedulously, supporting your members, for your members can do nothing without your support. (Cheers). A member with a petition in his hand is something, but without it he is nothing, and what he states is simply his own word and his own opinion. With a million of men at his back he is listened to with a degree of attention which would not otherwise exist; and he would not be heard at all, if he had nobody at his back. (Cheers). Support your members; never be afraid of tiring them with petitions, or of wearying them; they have nothing else to do. (Cheers and laughter). They ought to have nothing else to do, but to listen to your complaints, and attend to your wrongs. (Hear). Pursue this course, and I shall live to see Ireland, as I always wished her to be, happy and prosperous. (Long continued cheers for several minutes).

Mr. Cobbett, upon stepping from the balcony into the drawing-room, laughingly observed, "I am as young a man as ever I was."

For the ladies who were present, and the gentlemen of the deputation, Mr. Dodd had prepared a very elegant *déjeuné*.

Upon Mr. Cobbett retiring, Mr. Thomas Reynolds addressed the crowd outside, after which they quietly dispersed.

COPY OF A LETTER TAKEN FROM THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL OF 26. OF FEBRUARY, ON THE SUBJECT OF A MODIFIED SYSTEM OF POOR-RATES.

In a letter thou didst me the favour of inserting on the 8. instant, I took the liberty of recommending to the Society for the Improvement of Ireland, to consider the vast importance of a parochial

rate, for the employment of the poor; may I now add a few more remarks, bearing on the same subject, which I hope will explain to the friends of Ireland, that it is the interest of the rich to have a provision for the poor, and that without such provision, the people must remain in poverty, and both rich and poor suffer, while the fertile resources of the country encourage us to expect a very different result, provided the opulent should find it their interest to become improvers of the soil, and consumers of their native manufactures, which a direct tax for employment appears the most likely way to realize, as it is probable the ladies of Ireland would be all clothed in Irish manufacture, if their husbands and fathers were obliged to find employment for the operative. The same argument will apply to the gentleman's own dress, and capital to the amount of three millions annually would be kept at home, to increase the value of our soil, and consequently the interest of our landlords, who now oppose their own interest, and the interest of the people, for want, I conceive, of examining the question in all its bearings.

A nation, like a family, I believe, is bound to take equal care of all its members; is not this the order of a well-regulated community?

Let us see how a provision for employment bears on the introduction of machinery, which appears to have been the main spring of Britain's power and wealth. Machinery has been found highly useful in manufactures, and how could England have introduced her powerful machinery, which astonishes Europe, and preserves to her the market of the world, if she had no permanent provision for her poor? Impossible, for the working people most likely would have shot the first person who attempted to introduce a machine that turned them out of work, to starve (self-preservation is said to be the first law of nature); but the introduction of machinery into England, as they had a provision for employment, concerned the working people very little, for each man, I suppose, said to himself, "Ma-

chinery is no material loss to me, for my parish is bound to find me work or subsistence—I will not interfere with the ingenuity of my fellow-men." In that way the English introduced machinery almost without resistance, while the Irish could not; and the want of that provision, I conceive, is what compels the Irish operative to resist similar improvement; consequently Ireland is left in the back ground. Having no public provision for her poor, her workmen are obliged, in self-defence, to combine, and often to take the law into their own hands, and even to inflict signal vengeance on people they would, under other circumstances, have gone any length to oblige; for Irishmen love ingenuity and talent. Does not the above prove that the provision for employment in England was the foundation of British prosperity; and that if she was left, as the Irish, without a provision for employment, she must have remained, like Ireland, a poor country among the nations of Europe; she would not be the mistress of the ocean, and the emporium of arts and riches? This appears the secret cause of Irish poverty, and the ruin of so many of our manufacturers, who have disappeared those thirty years back; for, to compete with England, without improved machinery, is madness; and to introduce it is equally insane, without a reasonable provision for the poor to protect you.

Is it not perfectly clear, that, as England owes her prosperity to machinery, Ireland must owe her poverty to the want of it; and that, without a public provision, machines cannot be timely introduced? Consequently, poverty must remain, and we must continue to be clothed by the country where there is no obstruction to machinery, and our landowners and manufacturers continue to dwindle for the want of a home consumption, which forced patriotism cannot obtain.

Now, if Ireland has above 500,000 labourers idle, while she has three or four millions of acres lying waste, wanting improvement, in which her unemployed population would find ample employ-

ment in reclaiming, besides working her mines, raising coals for steam-engines, &c. &c., is it not reasonable the opulent should be obliged to find it their interest to come forward, and associate in companies, for the improvement of their country, which they would certainly do, in preference to maintaining labourers idle, who are able and willing to work, especially when their labour would be remunerative? This is the way a provision for employment has worked in England to mutual advantage, and it is likely, if adopted here, would work the same way; then I fully believe tillage would flourish, manufactures would flourish, a home market would be obtained for Irish produce, our active intelligent population, with cheap provisions, would come into action, to supply manufactures even for an export trade, all by the direct and indirect influence of a public provision for employment.

In a political view, see the immense importance of preserving the bulk of the people loyal; for as all mankind is bound by interest, from the peer to the beggar, the provision for employment will keep the base of society, which are the people, bound by that unerring rule self-interest—for they would be loyal to the state that considers them worthy of preservation; vice versa, disloyal to that state, that don't think them worthy of providing for; but for every effort of popular feeling passes an insurrection act, or some law of coercion, to make them quiet. The effect of that is, to break the public spirit of our fine peasantry, and to make them discontented, make them easy instruments to work on for political purposes.

I would ask, who pays the Irish taxes? Do not the poor pay two parts of them?

We have 5,100 armed police to keep up the system; a provision for employment would be likely to lessen their necessity, and restore real quiet and prosperity to every rank, as no objection will then be made to the introduction of improvements, which will be found of more consequence to keep the people quiet than the most severe laws; prosperity will cement the bond of union

that should bind the rich and poor together.

The poor being provided for by employment, through the working of a parochial assessment, will be better customers to the very people who support them, and would pay them back their money by an increased consumption; besides rendering their situation vastly more comfortable, it must also enhance the value of all property in Ireland.

The provision of employment would also prevent landlords from being oppressive, as every man would feel it not his interest to oppress, lest the very men he was charging too high a rent to would become a burden on himself. Thus it would be an effectual check on letting land to the poor too high, which is now very generally the case. In fact, I believe, in a very short time the only enemy to a provision for employment would be Captain Rock, for lessening his influence over an oppressed and impoverished peasantry, forced to combine for the want of those laws that would ensure their employment, and better their condition.

Another reason for a parish assessment for employment is, that our absentees will be compelled to contribute a portion of the immense property they annually draw away, to the necessities of the people they are injuring, by spending their incomes abroad.

Allow me further to say, that although I, in conjunction with many others, think Ireland could have been much better legislated for, and consequently improved, by local Houses of Parliament, still, as the union (a measure that paralyzed all the native energies of Ireland and injured England) was carried, I hope we may obtain and enjoy the advantage of having impartial gentlemen accustomed to live among a contented and comfortable peasantry, legislating for us; men who passed a Tithe Composition Act, a most desirable measure (as we are obliged by law to pay tithes,) and who will not be influenced by some Irish members, who view this improvement through too narrow a sphere of action.

But I am sorry to say the Tithe Composition Act stands alone, as the only boon given to us for twenty-eight years, for I cannot recollect another act passed for the amelioration of the condition of the Irish people; for, while England is expending millions on distant colonies, and even barren rocks, which in time may all be wrested from her, she has left Ireland, situate within her arms, and which must always be a source of great wealth to her, in a state of unjustifiable neglect.

Equal laws, equal encouragement to all, I believe, will be found the surest support of the British constitution. That sentiment, I hope, will find the support of British senators and the British people, who, I expect, will assist the friends of this country, who are endeavouring in an humble, but firm manner, to do their part towards removing the various obstacles that now prevent the introduction of improvement into Ireland, and we shall stumble at the very threshold of improvement, if we do not take up this measure as of the most primary importance.

Hoping I may be excused for trespassing so long, on a subject which, although highly interesting to some, may be uninteresting to others.

I am, most respectfully thy friend,
SAMUEL ROBINSON.

*Wellesley National Market,
22d of 2d Mo. 1828.*

ADDRESS FROM THE TRADES OF IRELAND, TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

We call upon the people of England to consider the present state of the Irish people, unnecessarily labouring under almost every evil that can afflict men; last year millions of human beings were in a state of starvation, destitute of employment, while three millions of acres of waste land lie uncultivated, in the hands, for the most part, of absentee proprietors, capable of supplying the English manufacturers with as much corn and butter as they import from foreign countries; the finest fishing sta-

tions in the world lie upon our coasts, and our people, deprived of capital, are unable to purchase boats or nets. The absentee landlords are not identified with the interest of the country, and the resident landlords, from the change in the value of money, combined with the poverty of the people are, individually, without the means of employing the people, and we, the manufacturers, by working fourteen hours a day, can barely support existence, and in times of stagnation have no resource. The English poor-rates enable the English manufacturers to undersell us, and we regret to hear that the poor-rate of England is swelled by the migration of the destitute Irish seeking employment and food. Societies are now forming in Ireland to carry on this migration on a larger scale. We have therefore called upon the legislature for a parochial rate, for the employment of the people of Ireland. Such a measure once obtained, we will then most cheerfully support the widow, the orphan, the impotent, and the stranger. We seek no rate for the encouragement of idle paupers, and we humbly solicit your aid, by petition, in furtherance of this great object. We have considered the operation of the poor-rates of England, and notwithstanding the abuse thereof, (which we will never palliate), we have come to this conclusion, that they have acted as a great inciting cause of the outlay of capital in the productive employment of the people. The poor-laws prevent the landlord in England letting his land at double its intrinsic value as is the case in Ireland, for if he ceased to employ the people, or exacted exorbitant rents, the townland being charged with its paupers, he would have to support unproductive consumers on his own property. To the poor-rates may be attributed the respect that the lower orders pay to the laws, so that the constable's staff in England bears more power and influence than the sword of the dragoon in Ireland. Justice is administered with certainty and effect, for want can never be pleaded in justification of crime, and the law of the land never violates the law of nature. A provision that would insist upon the

employment of the people, and thereby their maintenance, is a national security for life and property, an insurance against the vicissitudes of trade, commerce, and war. It is paid ultimately by the operative classes, the great consumers of taxed articles, to whose productive industry the nation owes its wealth, and directly serves as a check upon that class who have indirectly made a monopoly of all the prime necessities of life by the corn laws. Thus England is formed into a joint-stock company which, by its co-operation, and notwithstanding the high price of provisions, is enabled to undersell every other nation in the foreign market. In fact 7,000,000*l.* annually is the floating capital to effect this purpose; and we are convinced that, without this provision, the introduction of machinery, and other scientific improvements, would be productive of excessive misery. But now the increased profits arising from machinery enable parishes to support those who are immediately injured thereby, and induce and enable the capitalist to seek employment of a higher nature for the people, and thus consumers are created for his manufactures.

The objections urged against the poor-rates of England by Mr. Malthus and others are, that they produce an unnatural increase of the population; yet the increase of the population of Ireland, compared to that of England, is nearly double in proportion within 30 years. This disproportionate increase arises in a great measure from the non-existence of any check on the avarice of the landlords, who obtain too high rents. Mr. Malthus's second objection is, that it increases the number of paupers. The fact is the reverse, for the number of paupers have decreased, though the population has doubled since 1688. At that time Mr. Gregory King states, that the population was $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the number of paupers 1,200,000; in 1811 the population of England was $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the number of poor one million. Thirdly, he complains of the increased expense, without any reference to the increased price of provisions, the change in the value of money, the fear-

ful increase of the national debt by the American and French wars, and the consequent heavy pressure of taxation. But the only fair standard to try the poor-rates by, is their relation to the contemporaneous income of the country. Trying them by this test, we find that the relative expense has decreased in an inverse ratio to the increase of the income of the country. In 1688 the income was 30 millions, the poor-rate two millions, that is, fifteen to one. In 1811 the income was 300 millions, the poor-rates eight millions, being in the proportion of thirty-two to one; that is, relative to the income, half what they were in 1688. He likewise asserts, that they destroy industry. Why, its primary result is to create employment—the act of Elizabeth saying, “employ the people or support them as unproductive consumers.” This makes all classes industrious, especially those who are least disposed to be so—the upper classes, who in England seek real sources of productive employment for the poor, which repay them one hundred fold. In England, where there is a poor-rate, there is abundant employment for the people, and also for the poor migrating Irish. In Ireland, where there is no poor-rate to insist on employment, half the nation is without it, and in a state of utter destitution; their subsistence is potatoes, and even the scanty supply of such food is to a great extent obtained by a licentious mendicancy, which generates habits, feelings, and vices, inconsistent with the well-being of society. We maintain that, by the operation of the poor-laws, the enterprise and spirit of the noble people of England is not impaired, for by the exertion of their industry the income of that country now amounts to 400 millions, while the income of Ireland is only 40 millions, and we are disposed to think, that by provident advances to the manufacturer, in time of need, he is enabled to continue his business in times of stagnation, and thus his establishment is not obliged to be broken up, as is the case in Ireland. Part payment of the wages of the agricultural labourer out of the rate has been much complained of, and

amounts to about two millions of it; (vide Lord Castlereagh's and Lord Milton's speeches, May, 1819); but if this be the general practice of landowners and farmers, it is but a nominal charge, for those that pay the rate for this purpose, receive benefit in the proportionate decrease of wages.

We are told, that a measure which would insist on employment, will destroy the independence of the Irish people; the use of this word on the present occasion, appears like mockery, when applied to a people who are bound up to high and nominal rents, so as to make them the most abject dependents on their landlords. We refer to Messrs. L. Foster's, Dickson's, and Strickland's evidence before the Emigration Committee, where they have distinctly stated, that the rent demanded in most districts can never be paid out of the land, but is generally paid in money made by migration to England. Then the people give their labour to the lords of the soil, for permission merely to "live, and breath, and have their being." If this be Irish independence, then it is forsooth, all the evils of feudalism, without one of its advantages. Here the manufacturers have been ruined by the poor-rates of England; here three successive confiscations have transferred the land from Irish to English proprietors, and the natives are left to starve; here the Union has legitimized absenteeism; here we have the glorious independence of famine and fever, of gaols and hospitals, of police, soldiery, &c. Our people have had no independent resources. Insurrection and clanship have "frighted the isle from its propriety."——

Some object to compulsory assessment. Is not the payment of assessments for constabulary, for soldiers, for the maintenance of the poor in hospitals and gaols, compulsory? then take your alternative, and rest assured that a preventive is better than a remedy, more especially in a case where the peace of society is involved. The poor of Ireland cost at present five millions annually, which will appear as follows:—1st, one ton of potatoes given to beggars from each farm-house, at the low

rate of 30s. would amount to 2,000,000*l.*; 2dly, 3,000,000*l.* half the grand jury presentments, and half the government expenses, will make a total of five millions, to keep Ireland in its present miserable condition.

Now, let us see if laws providing for the poor are not justified from their adoption by the most civilized nations in all ages. The Jewish farmers (Lev. xix. 9, 10) left the angles of their farms unreaped, and also the gleanings of their land for the poor; and under that dispensation they had the benefit of the sabbatical year, and the spontaneous production of the third year was devoted to them; also a tithe (Deut. xiv. 28, 29). The Ethiopians, according to Herodotus (lib. iii.), had a public table, called the table of the sun, where the poor were fed. Æschines says, that at Athens there were sufficient funds to maintain the poor. The Hindoos, by an ordinance of their religion, relieve even the lower animals. In the country of the Incas, one-fourth of the property of the state was devoted to the poor. (Vide Sir W. Temple's Works, vol i. p. 208). In modern times, every civilized country, except Ireland, has a provision for the indigent, either springing from the nature of society, or from its positive legal enactments. In Scotland, England, and Holland three of the most industrious, commercial, and manufacturing countries in the world, work or maintenance is provided. In Imperial France, though an agrarian law was in operation, and the land gavelled (Simond's Switzerland, 452, 1 vol.), the octroi was devoted to the poor. In Switzerland there is a poor-rate, though the agrarian law is in full force, and corn is purchased up by government to keep down the retail price. The same prevails in a great part of Germany; and in Hungary, though feudal slavery gives an interest to the lord of the soil in the life of the serf, yet the law insists upon the provision of food, raiment, and shelter. The same is the case in Russia and Poland. In other countries, feudal dependence, or the revenues of the church, support the poor. In the State of New England there is a provision for the

poor (Dr. Dwight's Travels, vol. iv. 326), also in Sweden and Drontheim in Norway (vide Clarke's Travels, vol. x. 244, 488).

One objection made to such a system of relief is, that it is not adapted to the Irish character. This appears rather like taking advantage of your wrong. The Irish are idle, say those who have three millions of acres of waste land; the reply is simple, they have nothing to do. All we want for the Irish people is employment. Never let a man have money or food until he earns it. We have a brave, hardy, and athletic population, who possess all the elements for productive industry, who are obliged to emigrate for labour from a country possessing amazing resources. Many insist upon education as a panacea for the disorders of Ireland. We deem it a dangerous experiment to leave the cure of its disorders to education alone; for by so doing, you are only making the line of demarkation between the rich and poor still broader, and rendering the latter still poorer. By adding the wants of education to those superinduced by poverty, you fling a deadly drug into the bitter cup of indigence; you give a sharpened weapon to the enemies of social order. The Irish peasant will then eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge; when he reads that by law the English peasant is supported in old age, and sickness, and when out of employment, he will compare these advantages with the want of them in Ireland; and he will rather be disposed to consider the latter as oppression, than the former as a folly. He will read the speech of some eloquent senator, perchance his own landlord, who will deplore the lot of the West Indian slave, for whom food, raiment, and shelter, are provided, though a hurricane should not leave a tithe of the harvest. He will read of missions sent to the east and to the west, to improve the condition of strangers, who have nevertilled the soil, or fought the battles of their benefactors. He will compare all this benevolence with his half-roofed cabin, his fireless hearth, his naked and starving children, his forgotten services

and wretched pittance. And his discontent, lashed into bitterness by his knowledge, may rise into a fearful insurgency, which may not be so easily quelled, as it is the result of a new and unascertained power.

If there existed a parochial rate for the employment of the people of Ireland, they would have a feeling of independence, for the landlord could not prosecute them for a conscientious exercise of elective franchise. It would prevent them from continuing in that state of penury and apathy, which induces idleness, crime, and disease. It would make comforts necessities, and thus, by supplying new wants, excite to new exertions. It would supply employment, and thus make them independent and industrious.

Another objection urged against a rate is, that it destroys charity. There exists not a more charitable people in the world than the English, for when the Irish landowners were exacting high rents and exporting the food of our starving people, and whole parishes receiving extreme unction to prepare them for death, and cattle and sheep were grazing all around, the English were importing food, &c. &c. for them, to the amount of 300,000*l.* They relieved the Belgians, the people of Leipzig, of Moscow, and Manchester, &c. &c. in the same generous manner. The poor-rate of Birmingham was 60,000*l.* per annum, the voluntary contributions to charity 45,000*l.*, and the number of benefit societies in England is very great—some say 90,000.

We consider this emigration at the expense of the nation, as delusive, and will act only as an inducement for the landlord to pauperize the people, and then throw them on the emigration committer.

We maintain that we have a right to this provision for employment at home, from the political constitution of society, which prevents us from obtaining independently our maintenance, for there are numerous laws now in force whose tendency is to retard our industry, in addition to corn laws, grand-jury laws, taxes, &c. We claim it as the

producers, and as the greatest consumers of taxed articles. We claim it on the measure of the Union, which has put us on a par with respect to every thing that could benefit England; but which omitted one vital part, in which the happiness and existence of four millions depend, namely, the want of the labouring classes in the two kingdoms as to wages, for the only difference in the price of food in Dublin and Liverpool is the trifling expense of sea carriage, and the worst food is dearer in Ireland, in proportion to the rents and want of employment, than the best food in England, where employment is comparatively constant, and rents are not so high.

It would be the best tax on absentees. It will make the people respect the laws, one of which respects their condition, and alleviates their suffering, and it will afford the best security against insurrection and plunder.

Perchance we will be asked what will be the further result of this measure; we answer that wealth will be then created by productive labour, and capital must remain in Ireland to employ the people. The farmer, the manufacturer, the shopkeeper, &c. would then have an extended home market for their goods, and many who have become absentees, because Ireland, merged in misery as she is, cannot be a happy home, will return to enjoy social pleasure, amidst the peace, prosperity, and happiness of their native land; that the waste lands will be brought into cultivation, agriculture improved, the mines and collieries with which our country abounds, will be worked; more attention will be paid to the local improvement of Ireland, which is at present shamefully neglected; the existing manufactures will be fostered and encouraged; the general condition of the people ameliorated, and if any measures detrimental to the country are enforced, their effects would be immediately felt by those who are rich and can best apply a remedy; the wealth and revenue of Ireland would be increased by the productive industry of all classes, and Ireland, instead of being, as she is now, an object of scorn to the enemies

of England, and of wonder to her friends, would become a source of great wealth to her.

As the people are the base of society, and the firm supporters of the state, equal laws and equal justice appear their indisputable right. An assessment for employment will also draw forth the sleeping resources of our fertile island, for no man will feed the people and keep them idle, while employment can be had, and no one can say that employment cannot be had, while our soil is only half-cultivated,—three millions of acres waste, and four millions of money annually lodged in the funds, for want of plans of improvement being devised.

Raise the poor to their proper station in society, and the interest of the rich will be promoted, by the security of property, and an increased consumption of every article.

Is it not disgraceful to Britain to allow Ireland to remain as she is? Catholic Emancipation cannot be complete without some effectual plan being adopted to raise the population of Ireland to comparative comfort.

It would tend to induce our absentees to return to their estates, in order to relieve themselves from the tax, for it must bear heavier on them than on the resident gentry, who could provide remunerative employment, and thereby give themselves relief.

If any political economist can prove this reasoning fallacious, or that any injury to society can arise from justice being done to our poor but noble peasantry, we hope he will manfully come forward, and meet us in the arena of discussion, as many arguments remain untouched.

Dublin, March 17, 1828.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

As the subject of black slavery is now nearly disposed of, may I beg and entreat the British people to take up the subject of Irish white slavery. Ireland, it must be admitted, is of importance, situate as in the arms of Great Britain,

with moving bridges daily passing to and from, and for fertility of soil and situation for trade, no island in the world can be more blessed. But all her prospects and powerful resources to make man happy, are blighted by British misrule and the want of improving laws.

A Government may debase, or a Government may elevate a people: that is proved by the present state of Europe. I would ask why is modern Britain so superior to ancient Britain? Is it not that her laws and civil regulations have improved her people, and made them what they are, the first nation in the world?

Why is modern Holland superior to the old Flemish provinces, which were degraded under the iron grasp of Spain?

Why is modern Greece so inferior to ancient Greece? is it not owing to the misrule of the Turkish Government? or why is modern Italy inferior to the ancient head of the Roman empire? is it not owing to her government and civil institutions having become arbitrary?

Ireland has hitherto been governed by a temporizing and divided policy, and no effectual measure has been taken to connect the various grades of society. Roman Catholic emancipation (a good measure) has failed; opening the trade between the two islands has also failed of giving employment to the Irish people, or of inducing much British capital to go over. Nearly all attempts at introducing British enterprise into Ireland have failed, with a few splendid exceptions. In place of it, Ireland has nearly lost all her own manufactures; has become almost exclusively an agricultural nation, and even agriculture declines. Although Irish exports have increased, it is not owing to an improved agriculture; but when a people are made to pay high rents from produce alone, they must sell that produce to find money to pay their rents, and their other demands, and in England only can they find a market, and that at an enormous expense of carriage, which is 50 per cent. on oats, 25 per cent. on wheat, 33 per cent. on barley, and 20 per cent. on cattle. It would tend more to the improvement

of Ireland to have domestic consumers, a people industriously employed in all the various pursuits of the British people, as held out by the British Government. When the Union was contemplated, we were then told that every exertion would be made to bring up Ireland to British comfort and improvement, but such was never carried into effect—no, indeed, and could not with the system pursued, the nation was left bleeding at every pore, and all return absorbed by a cruel separation of interest.

Steam power was denied Ireland from the high price of coal, justice was denied to a large portion of her people, absenteeism was encouraged by the people being distracted with tithes, grand jury jobbing, extravagant rents, and a want of employment, which alarmed the timid and occasioned many to fly to a more happy land—but, above all, a poor-rate, the poor man's charter, which made Britain what she is, was denied the Irish people, and is denied to the present day; a commission is about going out to ascertain a fact all the world has too long been acquainted with, the poverty and the neglect of Ireland; this commission puts off the final settlement for another year, and time now is very precious, the whole nation is much excited. As for information, the records of Parliament abound with information; why not legislate at once, and enact that the property of Ireland, which, mark, has never been over taxed as the property of Britain has, shall be accountable for the poverty of Ireland. That at once comes home to every parish, a valuation is made of every description of property, and an assessment is levied, and on the credit of that assessment money is borrowed, and the whole country becomes as a great bee-hive, employment is looked after, and it abounds in every direction; three millions of acres of bogs present themselves, capable of reclamation, and that at a price three or four crops will repay (see the Chat-Moss bog reclamation), and one hundred and twenty millions of Irish capital, long detained in the British funds, as if awaiting this propitious hour, could be ap-

plied to a more useful purpose. Irishmen would have full employment, and they would be able to consume Irish produce, and pay the Irish farmer a more remunerative price than he now obtains by an export of his produce to England; Irishmen would then consume British manufactures, and be of vastly more importance to Britain than they now are. There are six millions who never consume any thing British, they would then become consumers, and all this by Irish means, and with Irish capital.

I may be asked, why is not this Irish capital now employed? The reason is obvious, no man can safely import machinery into Ireland, without a poor-rate to protect him; and without machinery and cheap fuel, Ireland, under present circumstances, cannot become industrious, and consequently peaceable; and who will venture capital into a country not peaceable? and sufficient money is not in circulation to enable Irishmen to consume, and as to foreign trade, it is not thought of; a few English and Scotch houses give orders, which are completed in Ireland, and exported via Liverpool, and which orders I hear are executed very much to the satisfaction of these liberal houses.

My object is to prove that you lose more by allowing Ireland to remain as she is than you are aware of, and that it is dangerous to the united empire to remain passive spectators any longer. Facts most appalling can be numerously furnished, and the sentiments of thousands of intelligent individuals must make some impression on Government. I shall give up my time for a few months to furnish these facts. My only object is the improvement of the sad condition of my countrymen, a people of the most honest habits, and industrious inclinations, if they had but the means given them, and means abound among a class who would cheerfully apply it, provided a proper poor-rate was given.

But I hope the support for the poor will never come from any fixed fund, for that would defeat the object. It should be derived from a compulsory

assessment placed on the property of the country. A most valuable impulse will thus be given, which will ensure employment; thus labour will be given in place of parish allowance, and in that, connected with the exertions made by the opulent to lessen a parish demand, consists the merit of the proposed poor-rate, which will ensure national improvement, and dissipate the present cold apathy that has been the ruin of Ireland. Is it not better to remove the cause of pauperism than to have to relieve it?

As an auxiliary, I would also propose a tax of one shilling per acre on all waste land, growing heath or bog moss, which could not be considered a fixed fund, because as improvement advanced the tax would recede; that tax would assist the parishes in purchasing each a few hundred acres of bog to employ the poor on, and the tax would not be thought injurious to the payer, because the money would be expended in the reclamation of bog, and would in time make his waste of value, which it is not now.

The slave population of our colonies appear not to exceed 800,000; their miseries have shocked the humane feelings of the whole empire, but I dare aver that there are double that number of Irish natives suffering miseries as acute, they sleep without beds or bedsteads on the cold ground, their day clothing is their only night covering, they seldom obtain more than two meals of animal food in the year, they have not the means to purchase books (even if they could read) or any other comfort; they must exist on a lumper potato, the worst description of potato, and it is so unwholesome that they are worn out unfit for labour at the age of forty-five to fifty years, while seventy years is the period allotted to man by a wise and bountiful Creator; they are unable to buy shoes or hats; their huts are the work of two or three days to erect; their houses have no fire-places, and consist of a single room, in which males and females all reside, and their large families sleep together for the benefit of animal heat; many actually

remain at home for the want of clothing. Certainly they cannot be whipped or sold as slaves, but in every other respect they are worse off. I cannot conceive how Christians, bound to perform acts of charity, to love their neighbours, and do unto others as they would like to be done by, can look on with cold indifference. Should not this state of society be improved, especially when it is in the power of a British Parliament to do it, without expending one-fourth part of the immense sum offered as a ransom for the black slaves? The Pacha of Egypt, I fully believe, has done more for Egypt in the last seven years than the British Government has done for Ireland since the Union.

Fish exists on the coast of Ireland in abundance, and the people in many places have not the means of obtaining boats, and are not instructed in the art of fishing.

Land is too high for the present ability to make rent, and competition, arising from the dread of starvation, compels those creatures to undertake to pay 8*l.*, 9*l.* and 10*l.* per acre for small portions of land which they must burn to obtain manure for; they then plant those lumpers potatoes, and afterwards the whole family have to lock up their house, and depart in quest of employment; 100,000 labourers go to England to obtain the means to pay extravagant rent, and return previous to the crop being ripe; for if the rent is not forthcoming the potatoes are not allowed to be dug out; the frost then destroys them, and with them the entire maintenance of the family, and death, or to beg from town to town, is the result. Many of their wives and children migrate to the midland counties, whose condition is not much better.

Many counties had, a few years since, a linen trade of great importance, which employed about two millions of people, in the spinning, weaving, and bleaching of yarn and linen; the produce was principally sold in London; but the fatal neglect of the flax staple, by a linen board who had it under their care for 115 years, and the invention in England of machinery that could spin flax as

they do cotton, has completely removed the spinning trade to England, and left those creatures in great destitution, quite beyond the power of my pen to describe. I think those poor people may fairly demand that their fellow-subjects in Britain should feel for, and endeavour to remove their misery; and that they should be brought within the pale of the British constitution, and have extended to them the full benefit of British laws, by which their support will be ensured, or their industry in every mode of life promoted, which is not now the case, for they are left to pine away in despondency and misery.

My full conviction is, and it is the opinion of thousands, that if the Irish Parliament in 1782 had enacted that law, and had given Ireland the poor man's charter, Ireland would not now feel herself so very inferior to Britain in all industrious pursuits, and so much degraded by poverty as to excite the pity and compassion of all Europe. Let me entreat the British people even now, in the eleventh hour, to condescend to solicit a reformed Parliament, over whom they must have some control, not to separate this session without passing that charter, and extending to Irishmen that wise and benevolent act, which alone can give prosperity, peace, and contentment to Ireland, and which they must admit, if properly administered, to be the main pillar of British strength.

If that law had been given to Ireland, the landed proprietor and absentee agents would not have demanded 10*l.* per acre for land not worth 5*l.*; it would not have been their interest to demand a rent which must throw the people on their parishes, and consequently on themselves for support. No, they would have preferred enabling the poor to support themselves, by charging a fair rent, and giving reasonable wages, to enable them to pay that rent, for no one in England, I believe, will say 5*d.*, 6*d.* and 7*d.* per day, for strong able-bodied men, is wages equivalent to 10*l.* per acre for land. And why should any man be compelled to exist on potatoes alone, and that in a country abounding with all the necessaries of life and resources

to become opulent, resources which cannot be brought into activity, without this law is first given? This is now proved beyond all doubt, it requires not commissioners to discover it. That law will be the impulse to push forward improvement, for self-interest has always been found the most effectual mode of obtaining the co-operation of mankind; as to charity there will always be objects on which to exercise that humane feeling; but let us first enlist the miser and the hard-hearted absentees, who I have often known to send back applications, just opened and returned, without even condescending to apologize for not remitting a few pounds out of the many thousands remitted as rent, or even to pay the postage. Many of them do not subscribe to our dispensaries.

This law will compel the Irish gentry to meet and consider of the most effectual mode of procuring employment, they will turn their attention to the improvement of the flax staple, so essential to a linen trade. The French now have the supplying of flax, owing to its superior quality, and I believe Ireland could have as good. They would also import the machinery for the spinning of flax, and preserve to Ireland her name for beautiful linen.

The fisheries would be extended, and the quick transit of fish into the interior of the island promoted, which would afford vast employment, and wholesome food to the people, giving to the country the advantages an island always possesses over a continent.

Our three million acres of bog land would be brought into cultivation; and from the discovery made by Joseph Nelson, on Chat-Moss bog, near Manchester, there is no doubt that the reclamation would amply pay for the outlay of capital, and add many millions to national property. In place of this improved condition of the Irish labouring people, through the aid of this grand impulse, I will describe the situation of the middle ranks of society. Almost the whole support of the pauperized peasantry is thrown on them, and that as unproductive consumers, living on the industry of this useful class; while

those unfortunate paupers are prevented from intruding on the mansions of the country gentlemen, who have their iron gates shut against them, the doors of the industrious middle rank are almost constantly beset with numerous groups of men, women, and children, who had migrated from neighbourhoods where they were known, being ashamed to beg among their friends. Many of their husbands are those who work in England to provide the excessive rent demanded for small portions of land, as I before described, and who are now in England called vagrants. Such a number of Irishmen being compelled by this sad necessity to leave their own country, must tend to lower wages in England, and injure the farming population, and in time must degrade them to a level with themselves, unless a timely stop is given to migration, by procuring for Ireland the benefit of home employment and home consumption of produce, when only a few labourers will go, which the harvest may require.

Please excuse this liberty taken by a native of Ireland, who has often at his leisure hours made the improvement of his country his study, and who has, after mature deliberation, come to the decided conviction, that no law passed, or likely to be passed, to promote Irish improvement, can come into useful operation, until the opulent feel it their immediate, their decided interest, to step forward and co-operate in a grand effort to ameliorate the condition of a fine intelligent people, and to place the industry of the nation, as it should be, on a firm foundation. He believes no time should be lost in waiting for reports of commissioners, who might as well be sent over to inquire if the sun shines in Ireland, as to inquire if the Irish people stand in need of that law, found so useful in England, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and America, in fact, every well-regulated nation enjoys it; and why should not Ireland have it, when she is described so often as the right arm of the British empire?

I am, respectfully your friend,
SAMUEL ROBINSON.

*Clara Mills, King's County, Ireland,
12. of 5. month, 1833.*

TO THE
RIGHT HON. J. E. LITTLETON, M.P.,
SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

*Remarks on the advantages to be expected
from the establishment of a Compul-
sory Rate in Ireland.*

ALTHOUGH Ministers have not pleased a large portion of their friends, still it must be admitted that in the present session of Parliament they have opened the way to several useful measures of imperial policy :

The opening the trade to China :

The opening the British settlements in India to all British subjects must be highly important :

Slavery mitigated, and a commencement made towards finally removing such a disgrace from the character of Britain, an example, which it is hoped the United States of America may follow :

The diminishing the number of Irish bishops, and the bringing the affairs of the Irish church before Parliament, Irishmen fully approve of; as the commencement of a reformation which may lead to the removal of all compulsory payment in religious matters. We have also to thank Ministers for abolishing the obnoxious portion of the Irish vestry cess :

The removal of duty on sea-borne coal, which was very injurious, as it prevented the introduction of steam-power :

Improvement in the mode of encouraging education among the poor of Ireland :

Improvement in the grand-jury system, but which is not yet complete; and also a change in the usury laws :

The next measure should be a COMPULSORY RATE, for the employment of the people, placed on the fee and the actual property of Ireland; that assessment might amount to about two millions sterling, a sum probably not more extensive than is now given in eleemosynary sums to strolling paupers, and which is principally paid, too, by the impoverished farmers and shopkeepers.

A public provision will prove to the poor, that they live under the benign influence of a British constitution, which will not allow its subjects to starve in the midst of plenty, as frequently occurs in Ireland, and which enacts that the property of the opulent is available for the relief of those in distress; and the poor man, willing to earn his bread, must either have employment, or be found by his parish in sustenance and clothing: a provision which unites the interests of all descriptions of men, and results in virtually declaring, if the poor man has duties to perform, that the rich man has also certain duties which the law compels him to perform. It is a great ornament in the British constitution, a pillar of strength in time of adversity, and every well-regulated country enjoys it.

Permit me to draw thy attention to some of the expected advantages of this compulsory rate in the results it would produce.

1st. The opulent will be induced, when they have this direct tax to pay, to associate with their fellow-parishioners. Men whom they at present in many instances keep at a distance, they must then meet to consult, in order to find out the most remunerative employment for the peasantry of their parish, and they will thus become acquainted with the true character of the Irish people of every rank, which is a great desideratum. The waste lands of Ireland, which amount to above three million acres, will afford sufficient employment, and will amply repay for their reclamation. Half a million of our peasantry, with their families, will find support for many years in improving those wastes, which at a moderate calculation, will furnish annually to the empire, ten millions sterling of produce, an amount larger than is now exported from Ireland.

2nd. It will be the interest of the rate-payers to establish agricultural schools in order to teach the sons of farmers the improvements of other countries, and green crops will be introduced to increase manure, and afford rest to tillage soils, now much exhausted

by continual corn cropping, without necessary manure. By good farming the present land in tillage could be made to produce one-third more of produce than it now does.

3rd. An increased circulation of capital, which is too limited among the numerous small farmers of Ireland, would most likely, by means of a judicious loan-fund, or banking system, be promoted; they have not sufficient funds to purchase necessary stock, and are now suffering considerable loss, as they are compelled to pay their rent principally by corn, and have not sufficient manure. A bank that would lend on farmers' joint notes, sums under one hundred pounds, payable in six, nine, and twelve months, would enable those farmers to make much more of their lands than they can now do with their confined and scanty means; and the soil would be improved for tillage, and made more productive.

4th. Bounties would probably be offered for improved barns and dairies, in order that corn and butter of a superior description should be produced.

5th. Endeavours might be made to compel landlords to pay their tenants for improvements when they deprive them of their lands, the amount of value to be left to a jury of impartial men. That would be a vast improvement in Ireland, and would lessen the influence of Captain Rock, who now in some degree protects the farmer, as he has no legal means of adequate protection.

6th. Endeavours would be made to obtain the removal of tolls and customs from fairs and markets, which are a great nuisance.

7th. When the situation of the Irish peasantry comes under consideration, it might be found advisable to lessen the duty on malt, and increase the duty on spirits, and temperance might be promoted by measures such as the Americans are introducing into their country.

8th. The Irish gentry would be induced to improve the roads, extend canals, and establish railways, in order to assist the agriculturist.

9th. A compulsory rate, for giving employment, must improve the condition of all the labouring classes, and

consequently enable them to consume a larger portion of the produce of the country. That produce is now, for the want of home consumers, sold in the British market, at an immense expense in carriage, freight, &c., all of which is deducted from the Irish farmers, and ultimately from their landlords: both are thus losing a much larger sum than they would have to pay, if a regular parochial rate was established, which would have the twofold effect of relieving the distress, and extending the industry of the country. I believe that one pound per acre on all the land in tillage, would not pay the expense of sending to a British market the produce of Ireland; whereas by the plan suggested, the occupying farmers would have to pay a very trifling sum, while they would be relieved from the crowds of paupers that daily visit their doors. The landlords would no longer be under the necessity of fortifying their houses from the nightly attacks of a neglected, and, consequently, distressed peasantry.

10th. It would convert non-productive consumers into productive consumers, which must make a difference of several millions sterling in favour of Ireland, and prevent the necessity of the present coercive system, which puts the empire to immense expense, without accomplishing any one legitimate object, but actually tends to dis sever the kindly feelings that should exist between the two islands.

11th. Permit me also to explain how the want of this, "the poor man's charter," has prevented Ireland extending her manufacturing employment. Machinery so essential it has been found dangerous to import or erect; the hands deprived of employment not having a due provision, which would prevent their starving, confederated together, and made it unsafe to attempt the introduction of machinery; consequently the workmen were compelled to migrate to England, America, or Germany, for that employment which could not be safely given them in Ireland. England having a poor-rate, had but little interruption to the erection of the most important machinery, and consequently England

extended her manufacturing trades, while Ireland has been forsaken, and principally for the want of this humane and equitable law; indeed her agricultural, her commercial, and her manufacturing interest have suffered alike, from the present policy pursued, no incentive being ever given to induce the Irish gentry to examine into the wants of Ireland.

Having pointed out some of the advantages likely to result from the establishment of a compulsory rate, allow me to illustrate these views by the following queries:

Why the Grand Canal stock fell from 115 to 15 per cent. while several of the English canals advanced in value many-fold?

Why the entire stock of the Royal Canal was lost, and the creditors declared stock-holders, and the present value of whose stock is very low, although passing through a most fertile line of country?

Why the Farming Society of Ireland dissolved themselves when Government withdrew its grant, although all necessary buildings had been erected on an extensive scale, and many useful arrangements made to effect a useful purpose? I think a compulsory rate would have induced the Irish gentry to continue united, to complete the work they had so honourably commenced.

Why the opulent landlords and farmers are so indifferent about introducing improvements in agriculture and agricultural implements, and what is the cause of such a general apathy as pervades almost every rank in Ireland about the improvement of their country? Such apathy exists that when the British Government deprived the linen trade of 21,600*l.* per annum, which had been a grant of certain duties appropriated by the Irish Parliament to enlarge that manufacture, and which money (the property of the trade and not of Government) might have been made most useful, very few persons objected.

Why Ireland, with a population of eight millions, with no poor-rate, should have only a gross annual produce of forty millions, while England, paying a poor-rate, with a population of twelve

millions, has a gross annual produce of five hundred millions?

And why charitable feelings are more active in England, where there is a public provision, than in Ireland, where no such public provision exists? That was proved in 1822, when there was no dearth of provision but a dearth of employment, arising from the want of a poor-rate.

I shall now endeavour to prove that the opposition to this measure is founded on fallacious grounds, and that England has only two modes to improve Ireland: either to repeal the Union, and restore to Ireland a local Parliament, which would promote all local improvements and increase the trade of Ireland; or, by extending to her this "poor man's charter," to induce the co-operation of every rank in the effort to banish our degrading poverty, and make Ireland what Nature intended her, a contented and a happy country.

The present situation of Ireland is injurious to every rank in society from the peer to the peasant, for all are suffering from the want of a self-operative stimulant to improvement, which must eventually be given either by a British or an Irish Parliament:

First, the absentees, because their incomes are not one-half what they were a few years since, and that principally from the industry of the people not being promoted.

Next, the resident landlords, because their rents have also been reduced in the same proportion, and the present rents cannot be paid from profits; they are taken from the comforts of the tenants, and from their much-reduced capital.

Then, the occupying farmers, because their produce not having a home sale, they must sell to exporters, who must deduct from the English price all their expenses and profits, which leave in cheap seasons a very moderate value to the Irish farmer, not equivalent to his labour and expense.

The shopkeepers, for their sales are principally confined to farmers, (the labourers being paid such a small remuneration for their time, they are unable

to purchase at shops,) and the farmers, from obtaining such a low price for their produce, are unable to purchase any article they can possibly do without; their clothing is made by the female branches of their families.

The mechanics, for they must go to England, America, or Germany, for employment, the same causes operating against them; perhaps they will now turn their attention to Egypt, where the Pacha appears more useful than all our political economists.

The export merchant, because, as there are no societies established to extend knowledge among the producers, every article is brought, and will continue to be brought to market of an inferior description; and he must protect himself, by cutting down the price; a cause from which the farmers and landlords suffer more than they are aware of. Look at the pains the East India Company took to create a supply of silk in their settlements, which no private individual could have done. The Irish cattle, pigs, and sheep, were greatly improved by the exertions of the late Farming Society; corn and butter require the same attention and exertions now.

The canal companies of Ireland suffer, for the interest of money sunk in expenses of lock-keepers, canal-banks, &c. is the same on half trade, as if they had double that trade; the boat-owners suffer from the same cause. The important undertaking of the Shannon Steam Company, who have commenced with spirit and great enterprise, to create or enlarge the trade on that neglected river, must suffer as they proceed, the same blighting influence from the want of that co-operation among the higher classes which would be so effectually insured by the extension to Ireland of this compulsory rate.

England, during the last one hundred and thirty years, has made 4,800 miles of water communication, to assist the commerce and the industry of her people, while Ireland during that period, has made about 450 miles only, although she commenced canal-making before England did. All those canals, too,

which she did make, have been unprofitable, and unproductive to the subscribers, owing to the want of trade, which would probably be one of the earliest effects of a compulsory rate: even the banks of the noble river Shannon, that runs about 200 miles through the centre of the island, are, in many places, as wild, and as much neglected, as if situate in the most remote part of America; yet there is abundance of marl, limestone gravel, and limestone rock, which, if applied to the soil, would soon make the whole line of the river a most beneficial and profitable means of internal communication.

I now come to show the injury this indifference on the part of the Irish gentry to Irish interests and general trade, has been to themselves and their families, and to suggest how important it must be to the empire, to have the rising generation of every rank better provided for.

It is truly lamentable to see thousands of fine talented and well-educated young men, with very moderate incomes, at a loss for employment, because of all the learned professions being over-stocked. How important it would be if this compulsory assessment induced their parents to turn the attention of their sons to the useful sciences of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. That would be imitating the example of the English and Scotch; and I believe there are Irish means for industry, sufficient to afford full employment to all these young men who are now brought up in idleness, or attach themselves to professions in which, while some are overpaid, many cannot procure the means of decent subsistence.

Irish capitalists suffer, for they have scarcely any means of safe investment except the funds; having lost all other modes of securing a profitable return by the apathy that pervades the higher ranks in society towards the general improvement of their country, or the opening of her various commercial and agricultural resources. Capitalists cannot invest capital in farms, for the value of land has been annually sinking. I know large tracts of country that were

let for 3*l.* 5*s.* per acre which are now let for 1*l.* 10*s.*, consequently capital would not be invested in land. As to foreign commerce, it is gone, and no longer thought of; the Irish merchants had no manufactures to send out, consequently they lost all foreign commerce. Liverpool supplies Ireland with her imports. As to manufacture, capital will not go into that line, for the reason before stated. I have known many Irishmen who had money and could not apply it to any trade, and were most reluctantly compelled to place it in the funds and to walk about idle, when they would prefer attending to industrious pursuits.

Ireland is further losing annually about half a million sterling, by 30,000 of her people, who emigrate and carry out, I believe, that sum in hard cash to Canada and the United States of America, leaving the poor, who cannot go, to be supported by those who remain, to struggle with all those impolitic and destructive prejudices that impede and frustrate a final settlement of this great Irish, and I would say Imperial question, on which the misery or welfare, the peace or turbulence, the ruin or salvation, of the country, depends.

To sum up my arguments: I consider that the effect of a compulsory rate would be, in a few years, an actual increase of produce to Ireland of twenty millions sterling; and I hope it will not be forgotten with what reluctance the British public contemplated the payment of twenty millions to the West India planters and one million to the Irish clergy. How much more should they condemn that mistaken policy which deprives the United Empire of that sum annually, independent of the disgrace in the eyes of Europe, and the inhumanity of having two millions of human beings suffering such unnecessary hardships as the poor Irish are now enduring, especially when two millions only of annual expenditure are required. That the estimate of twenty millions increased produce is not too high, will appear by the following calculation, viz.

	Millions
By the reclamation of three million acres of waste lands, which this assessment would soon accomplish, and which would pay as the work went on, the expense of its improvement	10
By a profit in converting non-productive, but still expensive consumers, into productive and industrious consumers, calculating their present expenses to be two millions and their labour at two millions only more	4
By increased value of all existing contracts in houses and lands, which the capital created and put into circulation, must occasion, independent of the stimulant every line of industry will receive, and which is estimated very low at	2
By increase of agricultural produce, from a better system of husbandry being introduced among the present farmers, from the example of well-informed influential gentlemen, being induced by motives of self-interest to turn their attention to industrious pursuits, estimated at . .	2
By increase in the manufactures of Ireland, when the opulent are interested to promote their consumption, which they would be by this compulsory rate on their property to provide employment	2

20

The two millions required for employment, I presume it will be clearly understood, would be levied for the improvement of the island from those who can well afford to pay it; it would be spent in the country—go from A to B, and back to A, in the increasing value of every thing he offers for sale; and if the three million acres of bog land be divided as they ought, among the 2,400 parishes which Ireland contains, each parish would have 1,000 acres, which, when reclaimed, with parish funds, would be a valuable interest for the fu-

ture support of those unable to maintain themselves in those parishes, or for the occasional removal of families to the colonies, as population became more numerous than could be profitably employed: then might emigration be useful; but to pay for any emigration scheme while these immense wastes remain uncultivated, I conceive the height of folly. Yet some there be who advocate the expediency of encouraging emigration, and leaving those valuable wastes as they are, thereby neglecting the profitable sources of employment in their native country, while they send out its hardy population to spend their energies in the deserts of distant climes.

Can we suppose that a Ministry who have given the people a reformed House of Representatives—and who must look to the people for support—will not reflect on the misery so large a portion of British subjects are suffering, and the injury inflicted on the middle ranks in Ireland, and that they will not attribute the suffering condition of Ireland to its true cause, the neglect of the upper ranks of Irish society? Or that Ministers will not now take effectual measures for correcting the neglect, and ensuring the improvement of Ireland, by making it the interest of the landlords and the opulent to meet and apply themselves to the improvement of their native land?

In my letter of 12. of the 5. Month, 1833, or in this letter, I have not alluded to political arguments, which I leave to others, with this remark, that Ireland cannot continue with safety to the empire as she is; and that she is now too powerful, too well-informed on political matters, and too fully acquainted with the power that passive resistance and moral co-operation give—a power which while it infringes no law, paralyzes all laws that oppose the people; to longer delay the improvement; and that I fear she will look to herself for redress when she finds she has no other alternative.

I have alluded to the humanity and expediency of the measure in only a commercial point of view, which I hope will be considered sufficiently urgent to induce Ministers to introduce into Ire-

land a compulsory rate for employment, as the firmest base for the improvement and pacification of that country; and that they will not be deterred by the opposition of a few Irish absentee and resident landlords, who do not allow their reasoning powers to divest their minds of prejudices long imbibed, and who would prefer allowing their rents to dwindle to nothing, rather than pay a few pounds for the improvement of Ireland.

As to employment for the people on public works it will be partial only, and not have the important effect of arousing the public exertions of the Irish gentry to the various wants of their country. However, by this means, good may be done, if Government will purchase one million acres of the Irish bogs, and either commence their reclamation on their own account, or retail them in small divisions, and lend money for their reclamation, taking as a security a lien on those divisions of bog land for such loan—that is, to lend 100*l.* for every 100*l.* previously expended, agreeably to a certain system mutually agreed on with commissioners appointed for the purpose, but not to require such security as they did for their last loan of 500,000*l.*, which in a great measure defeated its object.

A compulsory rate, the advantage of which I have but too feebly pointed out, is a healing measure, which ought to have accompanied that of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, as was contended at the time by myself and friends. By that concession, proper in itself, political power was conferred on men who were destitute of employment and education, separated from the owners of the soil by strong prejudices, mutually entertained. This was inverting the natural order of things. A sounder policy it would surely have been to have adopted means to secure employment in the first place; education in the next, and lastly political privileges. But the majority of all parties at that time, looked only to the excitement produced, to the effects and not to the causes, and they now discover the mistake. But even now it is not too late,

if Ministers will wisely resolve no longer to procrastinate, nor, in the introduction of other measures to omit that which is essential for putting them all into operation. Let them recollect the Drainage Bill lately passed, which excellent in itself, now lies dead, and cannot be brought into action for want of a provision such as that now described; a provision whose effects on other legislative measures would resemble, however faintly, the effects of the sun upon vegetable nature, they would all derive their life from this.

I am,
Very respectfully thine,
SAMUEL ROBINSON.

London, 22. of 8. Month, 1833.

THE PLAN.

The plan which I would most respectfully suggest, to give employment to the surplus labourers of Ireland, is for Parliament to make it imperative on the property of all the inhabitants of each parish, either to support the labourers of their parish as unproductive consumers, or to find them sufficient employment wherewith to purchase necessary sustenance, and to consider all cities and large towns as one parish.

Government then to provide a sufficient fund in Dublin to lend to each parish 1,000*l.* at three per cent. interest, and three per cent. as a sinking fund to pay the principal; taking as security a bond signed by a parish committee, who should have the power of levying such assessment on the property of their parish, and of purchasing with additional funds provided as above 1,000 acres of bog or mountain, which they should hold as the permanent property of the parish, never to be assigned or sold, but at all times to be under the superintendence of a committee freely chosen by the rate-payers of said parish.

Said committee to have the power of judging what may be a fair and suitable remuneration for labour given; and in the first instance not to be obliged to afford assistance to a pauper without receiving in return value in labour.

Said committee to have power to ap-

point an overseer to superintend for them the reclamation of their bogs; to be bound to bring into cultivation each year 70 additional acres, so as to have their 1,000 acres completed in 14 years; to be compelled to pursue the system which is now applied to the reclamation of Chat-moss Bog, near Manchester, and to follow as nearly as possible the future plans there adopted by an independent company, who are well acquainted with the mode of reclaiming such waste land, and have been very successful.

The committee, when all the waste land of their parish shall have been cultivated, should have the power given them to apply their funds to settle in the British colonies such of their poor whom they cannot procure employment for, and who may voluntarily offer to go abroad, but good care should be taken of those volunteers, both on their passage over and until they can support themselves.

The committee might have power given them to take or purchase other wastes when the 1,000 acres are cultivated and brought into a profitable state of reclamation, but not until then.

By this plan every parish which chooses to relieve itself may do so by accepting the loan of 1,000*l.* and reclaiming its 1,000 acres of bog; it would then have an ample fund to prevent this rate from becoming too burdensome on it at any future period; and at the same time would secure the peace, civilization, and content of its people, and which is essential, also preserve the stimulant to go on improving, for the amount of the assessment would still depend on the demand made on the parish.

The capital lent to the parishes would be well secured by the assessment; Ireland would soon have all her immense wastes cultivated, and her surplus population found in remunerative employment. Good care would then be taken of the aged and infirm, for the people of Ireland are naturally a charitable people, and very kindly disposed to their distressed relatives; they only want the means to relieve them. It is expected the result of this compulsory assessment will be, that all who have to pay it will

exert themselves to prevent an increase of paupers in order to have the assessment light; and consequently will not distress their tenantry by demanding exorbitant rents, and by neglecting or refusing to encourage the industry of their countrymen, as many now are found to do.

As, however, this plan would bring the bogs into demand, the landlords might defeat the parish cultivation by demanding too much money for them; it might therefore be advisable to lay a tax on those wastes of one or two shillings per acre; that is, on all bogs growing heath and bog moss; and I take it to be a better principle to tax inactive material to force it into action, than to tax the industry of man, as is now constantly done. It will be a productive tax, and it will be paid by opulent landlords, who will then, from motives of self-interest, have a double inducement to assist the parishes by promoting both the purchase and the reclamation of these bogs.

I am rejoiced to find that the English people are feeling compassion for the hard fate of the Irish poor, and are taking up the subject with their usual spirit. The Press also, "our fourth estate," is wielding its immense power, and will soon combine the efforts of this thinking and well-educated people, who I hope, ere long, will accomplish their generous and enlightened purpose of inducing Ministers to give this law.

They will relieve their own poor and their rate-payers by the effort, while "the poor man's charter," by being extended to Ireland, will, it is my firm belief, increase the annual produce of the empire above twenty millions sterling.

SAMUEL ROBINSON.

Clara, King's County, Ireland.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BARROW, J., Bristol, merchant.
COLE, W., Chester, builder.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

COADE, J., Devonport, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BALL, W., Worcester, skin-merchant.
CHANDLER, J. and S. King, St. Paul's Church-yard, woollen-draper.
DEELEY, J., Birmingham, comb-maker.
GOLDSTONE, R., Bath, dealer.
HARVEY, H., Stockport, Cheshire, stone-mason.
HUGHES, T., Little Leaver, Lancashire, paper-manufacturer.
JACOBS, M., Exeter, tailor.
MILLS, R. J., Tetbury, Gloucestershire, draper.
TREVOR, C., Liverpool, innkeeper.
WHEATER, T., Farns, Lancashire, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

GILFILLAN, M., Glasgow, insurance-broker.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

INSOLVENTS.

DAVIDSON, J., Wandsworth, calico-printer.
GIRWOOD, G. F., Edgware-road, surgeon.

BANKRUPTS.

BURNLEY, R. W., Leeds, cheese-monger.
EADES, J. and W. Brearley, Birmingham, chemists.
EDWARDS, J., Liverpool, cheese-monger.
DAVIS, R., Watling-street, linen-warehouseman.
DENMAN, E., Mark-lane, watch and clock-maker.
HUTTON, T., H. W. Lepine, and C. E. Lepine, Newgate-street, fringe-manufacturers.
JAMES, J., Walbrook, hardwareman.
MEREDITH, J., Llanelwith, Radnor, timber and coal-merchant.
MILLS, W., Chapel-street, Edgware-road, bricklayer.
PIDDING, J. R., George-yard, Lombard-street, merchant.
PROSSER, W., sen. and W. Prosser, jun., Pitfield-street, Hoxton, linen-draper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 22.—The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morning's market were liberal, which, added to the quantity left over from last week, caused the stands to be well filled. Fine samples of Wheat, particularly white, were in limited show, and

realized freely the prices of this day se'nnight, while good secondary as well as inferior samples were difficult of disposal, though a reduction of 1s. per quarter would have been submitted to, to have effected a clearance. The distillers have been purchasing the coarser descriptions of Wheat, and have given 1s. per quarter more, in instances, than the millers offered, 43s. having been realized for heavy red quality. Bonded Wheat continues to meet a partial inquiry for export at low prices.

New Barley was in more plentiful supply, but very few fine samples were offering. The warmth of the weather, however, preventing the maltsters from working, caused the demand to be limited, and the better descriptions must be noted 1s. per quarter, and secondary and inferior 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower than this day week, 36s. being a top quotation for Chevalier, and good malting being worth about 33s.

Malt hangs heavily on hand, and prices barely supported. The new Barley malts kindly, and is rich in saccharine matter.

Rye met with less inquiry for seed, and 40s. is an extreme quotation.

Oats continue in short supply and the consumers bought sparingly, though fully the quotations of last Monday were realized, particularly for old fresh Corn. New qualities come thin to hand, and are 1s. per quarter cheaper than old, and new Scotch 1s. to 1s. 6d. per quarter.

The sale of Beans was heavy, and prices of new barely maintained.

New boiling Peas supported last week's currency, but maple were 1s. to 2s., and grey, 1s. cheaper than this day se'nnight.

The Flour trade was heavy, and ship qualities difficult of disposal, at a decline of 1s. per sack from the rates of Monday. Sour Flour in bond has experienced inquiry for export, 17s. per barrel being offered for 800 barrels, but refused.

A government contract has appeared for 2,200 quarters of red Wheat, and 300 quarters of white, deliverable, part on the 21. of October, and the remainder the 11. of November, and 500 quarters of Peas, deliverable the 21. and 31. of next month.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	46s. to 48s.
White	50s. to 55s.
Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 46s.
White, ditto	42s. to 52s.
West Country red	40s. to 46s.
White, ditto	46s. to 50s.
Northumberland and Berwickshire red	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	38s. to 42s.
White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
Irish red	36s. to 40s.
White, ditto	38s. to 42s.
Barley, Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	36s. to 38s.
Distilling	29s. to 31s.

Grinding	27s. to 30s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
Ware	58s. to 63s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	34s. to 39s.
Maple	37s. to 41s.
White Boilers	37s. to 45s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
Harrow	34s. to 36s.
Tick	32s. to 35s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
Short, small	22s. to 25s.
Poland	22s. to 25s.
Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Berwick	24s. to 26s.
Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
Potato	23s. to 24s.
Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 45s.

PROVISIONS.

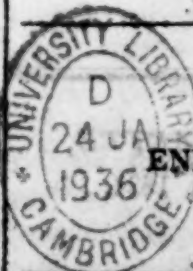
Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, September 22.

The day's supply of Beasts was rather numerous, but in great part of indifferent quality; the supply of each kind of small stock but limited. Mutton was in steady demand at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone, but with Beef, Lamb, Veal and Pork, trade was very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½



END OF VOL LXXXV.

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